

The Future World War—Act I.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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SATURDAY, MAY 21ST, 1921.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, 6th May (via Stockholm).—The Central Executive Committee of the Communist International addresses the following letter, signed by Zinoviev and all the members of the Executive, to all the parties and organisations affiliated, or who wish to affiliate to the Communist International:—

The Third World Congress has been summoned in Moscow on June 1st. After the second Congress most of the parties have thoroughly discussed the Theses issued by the Executive. Almost everywhere it has led to a split between the Communists and the Centrists. This was the period during which real Communist Parties were brought into being and were constituted. The Third Congress, out of the work which has been achieved, will have to draw the conclusions: it will give the International its final form and tactics. First on the agenda of the Third Congress is the report of the Executive Committee. This is intimately connected with the campaign and the splits in many parties, which characterise the last period. The Executive Committee will lay a report of its conclusions before the Third Congress, which must pronounce its judgment.

The second item on the agenda deals with the world-wide economic crisis and the new aims of the International. By weighing up the facts and analysing this crisis, the congress of the workers of the whole world will prove the incorrectness of the reformist perception and will have to show the ludicrousness of those who still believe that capitalism can be resuscitated.

The third and fourth items on the agenda deal with the tactics of the International during the revolution and in the interim period: United demands, united actions and the final revolutionary struggle. The congress will take into account the experiences of the Russian and German workers, and those of other countries. Out of the best of them it must formulate the tactics of the Communist Parties, on the one hand free from sectionalism and the mania for sensational results, on the other hand leading to the close linking up with the masses of the proletariat, which must remain unwaveringly true to revolutionary Marxism.

Points 5 and 6 are: The Trade Union movement, the fight against the Yellow Amsterdam International, the International of the Red Trade Unions. Here the fight will be decided between the 2nd and



"PITY THE BLIND."

the 3rd Internationals, i.e. between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The congress will have to decide the mutual relations between the Red T.U. International and the Communist International. Much in the structure of the International of the workers' movement depends upon the decision arrived at.

All organisations must study this question and come to the Congress with the thought-out decision.

Items 7 and 8 deal with questions of the internal organisation of the parties, with the methods and tenor of their actions; with the structure of the International with its relation to its various affiliated parties. We have to examine (1) The constitution of the individual parties separately; (2)

the limits of admissible autonomy as between the members towards the Executive, and the concentration which is necessary for guiding the international struggle of the proletariat. In other words: On what bases shall the International be built up so that it may successfully fulfil its mission?

Item 9 deals with the question of the East. Whilst this was theoretically outlined at the Second Congress, we must now define it practically.

Item 10 is of intrinsic importance. This is the Italian question. Under the Centrist influence, Serrati, the Congress of Leghorn has refused to accept the twenty-one conditions of the Second Congress. The Communist workers have formed a Communist Party, which is the only Italian section recognised by the Communist International.

The Socialist Party of Serrati has been shut out of the Communist International. Serrati has appealed to the Third Congress against the decision. The Executive Committee willingly leaves this matter to the decision of the Third Congress. The Italian question has become of international importance through its echo in the United Communist Party of Germany. The Congress will bring full light to bear upon this matter and lead to a comprehensive solution.

The agenda deals further with the position of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, with the Women's and Youths' movements. Finally the Executive Committee will bring up on the agenda the economic policy and conditions of Soviet Russia.

We call upon all parties and organisations which are affiliated to the Communist International immediately to study and discuss, on the broadest basis, the questions on the agenda. The notes should immediately be taken. The Executive Committee invites all parties to send, if possible, large delegations, which should consist of one-third from the Central Committee and two-thirds from the branches which are in close touch with the masses. If possible, the Congress must comprise many workers so as to reflect the spirit of the proletariat. The Central Executive Committee expects also women and youth delegates. The decisions of the Third Congress must be prepared and discussed by dozens, by hundreds of meetings of the workers' Time presses. Get quickly to the work of the Party! The Central Executive Committee asks the parties to send reports of their activities during the past year, so as to define the attitude of the various parties in this connection on the agenda.

HOUSE OF COMMONS AND PROPAGANDA.

The members of the House of Commons are really very much upset at the way things are going. They asked scared questions about Revolutionary Propaganda, said it was paid for from abroad, and the law was not strong enough to deal with it. They have got D.O.R.A. and the Emergency Powers Act, under which no man's person or property is safe from attack by the authorities, under which you may not express an opinion by word of mouth or in writing without running the risk of six months in gaol, and still "the law at present isn't strong enough to deal with revolutionary movements in this country," according to Mr. Gwynne. What more do they want? To be able to shoot us dead at sight, because we might hold different opinions to them, as they are doing in Ireland? Mr. Lloyd George said they had already instituted some prosecutions (which have resulted in increased numbers taking part in active propaganda). Should it be necessary to ask the House to legislate on this matter they would do so. He thought it a mistake to rush too soon into action. He believed in the good sense of the British working classes, and did not believe they would be misled by these people. "Once it is known there is foreign instigation, even a good object would be discredited if it was patent that it comes from foreign sources." But his faith in the insularity of the British worker is out of date. Too many of them have been in foreign countries and have seen for themselves that there are sometimes better conditions there than here, for that old fetish to continue. He does not believe "in patent medicines either in politics or in the general physical state of a man's health. I think it much better to keep up the general condition—(hear, hear)—to see that the nation is fed, and if the nation is fed we need not fear Communism or Bolshevism, or any disease of that kind." He was much more concerned with this aspect of the matter, and that was all he had to say for the moment on this important topic.

Mr. Gwynne: "Are we to wait and see?"

"No, watch and pray." (Laughter.) And, as ever under capitalism, when it is a question of benefiting the workers, it ended in laughter!

We read of men falling down from exhaustion in the unemployed queues outside the Labour Exchanges, but what has Mr. Lloyd George done to feed them, for they have been unemployed quite long enough for him to have put the solution into operation if he has one? But Lloyd George has no solution to the question of feeding the workers properly, because there is none under Capitalism. Communism, or Bolshevism, is the cure and not the disease.

The mining question was the next problem tackled in reply to speeches by Mr. Holmes (Lib.), who proposed as a basis for settlement that until September 30th every man in the coal industry should receive his 1914 rate of wages, increased according to the index figure of the cost of living of the previous month (a fallacious figure, remember). In the event of the coalowner losing during this period he should be able to claim repayment from the Government, but the amount so repaid should not exceed the total loss, nor the difference between the amount which the coalowner had offered to pay to his workmen during the present month and the amount he would actually pay under this present scheme. If the coalowner made a profit, if the wages paid to his workmen were less than those he had offered, the coalowner should pay to the Government the difference, provided the payment did not exceed his total profit. To obviate the whole dispute beginning all over again on September 30th, he suggested that the parties to the dispute should get together and immediately resume their conferences, and if no settlement were arrived at by September 30th, that his scheme should continue according to the index figure for the previous month.

Mr. Clynes, the Labour Party leader, made a very statesmanlike speech, which you all know means trying to hoodwink the workers whilst backing up the capitalists. He wanted both parties to come together again, for he "had reached the conclusion that the miners, as a body, were in a mood to receive the guidance of their leaders in regard to the terms of settlement, if those leaders were offered terms which they felt would be equitable to the men in all the minefields." He thought changes should be made gradually by easy stages.

Ah! the old game the capitalists played so successfully during the war, when they gradually reduced the food of the workers and gradually introduced conscription and the other evils.

Mr. Victor Hartshorn showed by his speech how wise the miners had been to get rid of him, for instead of supporting their claims, he wanted more conferences, whether they had anything new to propose or not.

On the Morning of May 30th,
at 8 a.m.
Com. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST
will be released from
Holloway Prison.

Try to be there to send up three mighty
cheers for the Cause we all have at heart.

The leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, "Big Bill" Haywood, has reached Moscow, at the invitation of the Third International. His cabled impressions give the lie to current press dope.

**A FURTHER REPLY TO
WARD NEWTON.**

To the Editor.

I see our Comrade Ward Newton in his "Industrial Dreadnought" of May 7th replies to my letter in the "Dreadnought" of April 30th. His point is much clearer to me now. Our Comrade's contention is that industrial unions make for strength, and craft unions tend towards weakness. I would agree with him were it not for the fact that I have some striking instances in my mind of the much-vaunted unity being unity in theory only. When the time comes for unity and solidarity we generally find animosity among many of the industrial unions. To give an instance: In July, 1919, there was an unofficial strike upon the N.E.R. system against an unauthoritative test which affected the whole of the railway workers upon this particular system, but especially the locomotive fraternity. I was a member of the all-grades union at that time, and that was the position? I found that the fight was being waged by a gallant little body of about 100 members of the locomotive fraternity with little or no assistance from the other grades, in spite of the fact that all were in the same organisation (N.U.R.). In spite of the fact that the other grades were directly affected by the unjust test they remained at work. However, the fight ended successfully for the workers, and remains as an instance of what a few determined men can do against a mass of workers who were at loggerheads with one another.

I could go on relating many similar cases affecting other big unions, but I think our Comrade will agree with me in this case at any rate that the much-vaunted unity was a delusion and a snare, and was the means of a great many of the locomotive fraternity turning over to the A.S.L.E. and F. But, as I said, I have been in the past a member of the all-grades union, and I can assure our Comrade that, as a Trade Unionist and as a Communist, I had many good reasons for leaving it. I would much prefer to be among a body of strong, determined Trade Unionists that remain in an organisation, the member of which are driven about willy nilly by selfishness and blind, implicit faith in so-called leaders.

As to our Comrade's remark, re "narrow determination to manage its own business," by the A.S.L.E. and F., I must say to him that the best reason to manage Ward Newton's business is Ward Newton, and the same applies to the A.S.L.E. and F. They do the best for themselves, and surely up to other organisations to do the same. If the A.S.L.E. and F. they could, acting in conjunction with one another, force the issue any way they desired. As to Comrade Ward Newton's remarks re "craft consciousness and individual superiority," I may say that the A.S.L.E. and F. do not think themselves superior to the workers in any other industry. They are workers before anything, and they are CLASS-CONSCIOUS. They have never yet, to my knowledge, refused assistance any organisation in distress, and circumstances now taking place which will probably place the A.S.L.E. and F. first in the field in support of miners. But as long as the workers of all nations strive their utmost to overthrow the capitalist class which oppresses us, then I do not why we should have any resentment or prejudice by one organisation towards another.

"ASSOCIATED."

RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

To the Editor.

Dear Editor—Reading through your report of the Red Trade Union International Conference, which took place at Friar's Hall on May 7th, I notice that there undoubtedly exists some confusion with the above and the Third (Communist) International. Mr. W. J. Webb, of the E.T.U., who evidently has his heart in the right place (as he puts it), in seconding the resolution calling on the Trades Union Congress to sever its connection with Amsterdam, etc., and to take immediate steps to be represented at the first congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, on July 1st; and further stated that his union was holding a Rules Revision Conference, one of the items being affiliation to the THIRD International. I believe affiliation to the latter is exclusive to the Communist Parties of all countries who accept and adhere to the Statutes, Thesis, etc., they being the political party of the proletariat, through which we hope to shape and mould the machinery necessary to impose the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The R.T.U.I., when its rules and policy is finally settled on July 1st, will organise the masses in their millions on the industrial field on a class-conscious basis, thereby creating the economic power from which the Communist Parties will function. Recent events vividly demonstrated the need for a strong industrial international as a fighting weapon for the workers, which in due course, in conjunction with the Third (Communist) International will, as Engels states: "Transport the Capitalist State into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe. This condition of society, without the State, is Communism." I sincerely hope this will not be taken as a criticism of the London Conference in any way, but I, in my humble way, feel that

we should be quite clear as regards the relationship between these two internationals. The E.C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain pointed out in a circular to branches a few weeks ago that "while they were working in harmony to the fullest extent, the two organisations were not one and the same." This proves that they, too, evidently wished to be quite clear on this point, as it is just possible that some who may even be delegates would have some misapprehension, and also that members of unions who affiliate may take it for granted that they automatically become members of the Communist Party (in fact, cases now could be cited), but this is not so.

Yours fraternally,

Birmingham. A. C. WEBB.

[We would refer our correspondent to items 5 and 6 on the Agenda of the Third Congress of the Communist International re relationship between the Communist International and the Red T.U. International. This matter has yet to be decided.—Ed.]

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS (Cont. from p. 4).

from an orgy of Imperialism; other countries, too, where the class-struggle is to the fore.

Not casual bits of information, but a series of articles, enabling the British workers to get a true perspective.

At home—the financial and political interests still playing their powerful game of chess for clique supremacy, for the enslavement of the workers, and that, in spite of many of our too-confident comrades, who lull themselves in the unfounded belief that Capitalism is tottering to its fall, of its own weakness. A steady educational work on the need of strong Party organisation.

A fearless criticism of the present-day Trade Unions which, whilst able to resist, and not even that in all cases, wage reductions, have not yet the prescience to organise rapidly and revolutionarily for a wageless state of society.

In brief lines, such is the work—educational and yet, we think, highly revolutionary—we had set out to achieve.

You can make mistakes whilst you are living; you can't talk after death. Pardon the utter commonplace and vulgarity of this sentence.

A paper, to improve, must live.

Live we shall, if, besides financial assistance, Comrades will give us—who are no better than they are, and are not preaching from a high pulpit, still less from an ivory tower—the assistance of their experience—their criticism—aye, their friendly criticism and some-times of their patience.

You know the story: Some one with a liver not working properly, grumbled one day at the cumbersome title of our paper.

"Never mind," said Comrade Pankhurst, "when we go down, we'll come up once more and call it the 'Workers' Mate.'"

WELCOME TO SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All members of the Communist Party, and Comrades who wish to welcome Sylvia Pankhurst on her release from Holloway, should apply to E. CANT, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1., for tickets (free) for the Reception at the above address on Monday, May 30th, at 7.30 p.m. A rally will be held on the same day outside Holloway Gaol at 7.45 a.m.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

Approximate figures at the time of going to press. The final results may vary between the two sets of figures indicated below:—

	Minimum.	Maximum.
Governmental bloc	240	285
Socialists	90	110
Popular Party (Catholics and landowners)	90	107
Communists	10	15
Republicans (capitalists)	10	15
Fascisti (White Guards: extreme reactionaries)	20	35
Ex-Servicemen	10	13
Slavo-Germans (from newly-conquered provinces)	10	11

Mr. J. H. THOMAS.

Mr. J. H. Thomas says that American Labour is 50 years behind British Labour, and yet the British workers have never given him the reception he received from the American workers. He was greeted on landing with boos and jeers because he had caused disruption in the Triple Alliance, and banners bearing such inscriptions as: "Thomas Fleeing from the Wrath of England"; "Judas Hanged Himself after Betrayal. Will Thomas Follow Suit?" He had to escape in a goods lift.

The Americans do not only pass resolutions, they are up doing!

A SUGGESTION.

Chandler says:—

"Be bold! Get out a special number at the time of Miss Pankhurst's release. Something quite out of the common, and get a splash advertisement in the Daily Herald. This helped The Communist and should help you.

"You may be surprised at the number of people who have never heard of the Workers' Dreadnought, and many of these, Daily Herald readers."



OUR BOOKSHELF.
"THE YOUNG WORKER."

(The monthly organ of the Young Workers' League, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4. 3d.)

It is just as easy to get children to wave a red flag as a tricolour one: it is a matter of emotion, affecting us as the military brass band that set all feet a-tramping. It is another matter to instil in young minds ideas that will grow and germinate into a permanent sense of justice and a strong will to see that ideal put into daily practice.

Francisco Ferrer, a pioneer of revolutionary education, was shot years ago by the reactionary classes of Spain. In the stress and difficulty surrounding the working-class movement, he was one of the first to emphasize the need of education—free from capitalist bias—for the young generation. This work is at the same time most useful and truly difficult. It requires not only patience, but great psychological insight. It is a work of great responsibility.

Modern society, which has created the slums and their depressing moral atmosphere, has also given us the "penny horrible" and the "pictures," failing at the same time to give us a good and useful elementary education for the young workers.

"The Young Worker" is a praiseworthy attempt, by a group of young workers, assisted by a capable editor, to supply young workers with some good and readable educational matter.

Sixteen pages of interesting and elevating articles, in a convenient magazine size, even at 3d., should sell well, and we are looking forward with interest to the next issue for which, the wisper goes round, new interesting features are prepared.

We have received some very sympathetic and appreciative letters in response to our appeal, extracts from some of which we give below:—

"I value very much indeed the pioneer work done by the Dreadnought in its early days, and from time to time I see articles there which are of the greatest educational value, that I don't see in any other paper. . . . Yes, although I sometimes find very little time for reading the Dreadnought, if it ceased to be, I should miss it very much; but anyway, it must not be allowed to lapse, and so enclose really more than I can spare. Trust you will be successful in getting further financial support from your readers.

"I am sending this to say how deeply I regret it, but I have been out of employment for the last two months, and cannot send on any financial help as I should so much have liked to have done.

"The Dreadnought has been an education and an inspiration to me, and I am sure all who read it will feel a big loss, especially now, if it has to cease publication.

"We devoutly hope that the Dreadnought will hold out until Miss Pankhurst comes out, and we hope that a good response will result from your appeal for funds. For the coming week we will undertake to make good whatever may be short of the £30 required."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Per E. Lagsding 10s, Mrs. Edmunds 10s, per E. Collins 2s 6d, A. J. Marriott 5s, A. Frayn 5s, E. Swift £1 5s, E. H. Fox 5s, Miss Widdicombe £1, Mrs Wyatt £3, C. Dunn 5s, J. Staples 9s, F. Dobson 2s 6d, per Mr. Pocock 12s 6d, S. A. Chandler £3, Hatfield Friends 1s 9d, M. Balkin £1, a Revolutionary 6s, L. Burgess 15s, S. N. Ghose 5s, C. Cole 5s, per S. Robinson 9s, L. Devereaux 5s, per M. Marsh 10s, G. L. Jones 5s, E. Gulland £1 15s, A. Holdsworth 10s, per A. C. Webb 6s 6d, R. C. 2s 6d, Redcap 5s, total £17 10s; grand total £81 is 5½d.

THANKS.

We are very grateful to the comrades who have helped us this week, especially that group which has promised to make good any deficit on the £30 this week. Who will follow their example, for the next few weeks?

One comrade says he will send 10s. a week if others will promise to do the same. Do not let us lose this offer! Another comrade has promised to send 10s. a month.

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